

Resources

Development and Crisis in Bougainville: A Bibliographic Essay

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My main purpose in this essay is to discuss the emerging literature on the so-called Bougainville crisis that began in 1988 and remains unresolved early in 1992. However, before examining these recent writings I will identify some general sources on Bougainville, and survey the sizeable literature on change and development there since European contact. I will pay particular attention to studies of the impact of the giant copper mine at Panguna, and to sources on Bougainville's earlier secessionist crisis.

Most of the literature cited consists of books, monographs, articles in scholarly journals, and material published in occasional and working paper series. All of these should be available in major research libraries, or through interlibrary loan systems. Newsmagazine and newspaper articles are not generally cited unless they are of particular importance. Unpublished materials are limited to important dissertations and theses, reports, and documents.

GENERAL SOURCES ON BOUGAINVILLE

The best single source on the geography, anthropology, and history of Bougainville¹ is Douglas Oliver's *Black Islanders* (1991). Professor Oliver first conducted research in Bougainville in the 1930s and has been writing about developments there ever since. The material on traditional cultures, early contacts with Europeans, and colonial

history is drawn largely unaltered from his earlier work, *Bougainville: A Personal History* (Oliver 1973). However, the material on the mine and its impact, as well as on more recent change in the "other Bougainville," has been completely recast and brought up to date. The earlier work was roundly criticized for its focus on colonial actors and perceptions, descriptive emphasis, and generally favorable portrayal of the mining company (eg, see Griffin 1973a). *Black Islanders* will, no doubt, evoke similar responses from reviewers (eg, see William Standish elsewhere in this issue). Nevertheless, it remains an essential reference for students of Bougainville because of its relatively comprehensive coverage.

The prehistory of Melanesia is one of the most dynamic areas of Pacific Islands scholarship, and general developments in the field are reflected in works by John Terrell (1986, 1988), Matthew Spriggs (1984), and in a collection of articles in Volume 63 of *Antiquity*. In this collection Allen, Gosden, and White (1989) discuss the Pleistocene occupation of Greater Australian outliers, and Gosden et al (1989) identify more recent developments. Oliver (1991, 1-15) offers a useful overview of the prehistory of Bougainville itself, while Stephen Wickler (1990) and Matthew Spriggs (1990a) provide more specific information. Wickler and Spriggs (1988) demonstrate that people have lived in Bougainville for at least twenty-eight thousand years, some

twenty-five thousand years longer than previously reported for the Solomon Islands.

Although her chapters on prehistory and social change are now well out of date, Ann Chowning's (1977) slim volume remains a useful introductory survey of the major cultural characteristics of Melanesia. Some of the earliest descriptions of life in Bougainville are provided by Guppy (1887), Parkinson (1899), and Frizzi (1914). Although government anthropologist Ernest Chinnery (1924, 1925) was the first to attempt an overview of the traditional cultures of Bougainville, chapter 7 of *Black Islanders* (Oliver 1991, 92–117) is the most useful contemporary source. This is based on Oliver's own earlier work (eg, Oliver 1949, 1969), including his classic study of the Siwai people of southwest Bougainville (1955), as well as on area-specific studies by Beatrice Blackwood (1931, 1935, 1936), G. Thomas (1931), Robert Shoffner (1976), Donald Mitchell (1976), Jill Nash (1974), Hilde Thurnwald (1934), Richard Thurnwald (1934a, 1934b, 1936, 1951), Jared Keil (1975), Jonathan Friedlaender (1975), and Michael Hamnett (1977). Of particular importance for students of the current crisis is Eugene Ogan's research (especially 1971a, 1972, but see also 1971b, 1974) among the Nasioi of east central Bougainville, on whose land the Panguna mine is now located.

Once again, Oliver (1991) offers the most comprehensive postcontact history of Bougainville, with chapters devoted to early contacts with Europeans, the German era, the Australian mandate, World War II, and the post-war era. Beaglehole (1966) and Sharp

(1960) provide general descriptions of the European exploration of the Pacific, while Jack-Hinton (1969) deals specifically with voyages of discovery to the Solomon Islands. Although a detailed history of the labor trade in Bougainville has yet to be written, the history of "blackbirding" in general is nicely summarized by Kerry Howe (1984, 329–343). Other sources include Deryck Scarr (1967), Colin Newbury (1980), Price with Baker (1976), and especially Peter Corris (1973). Additional insights can be gained from Clive Moore's (1985) excellent study of Malaitan migration to Queensland between 1871 and 1904.

Secessionist leaders often draw attention to Bougainville's political separation from the rest of the Solomon Islands in 1886. Paul van der Veur (1966a, 1966b) details the circumstances surrounding Bougainville's incorporation into German New Guinea, but indicates the equally arbitrary nature of Papua New Guinea's other boundaries. The most useful general histories of German New Guinea in English are Peter Hempenstall (1978) and Stewart Firth (1982), but an earlier work by S. W. Reed (1942) is also worth consulting. Shorter accounts include Marjorie Jacobs' (1972) section on German New Guinea in the *Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea* (P. Ryan 1972), and chapter 4 of Griffin, Nelson, and Firth's political history of Papua New Guinea (1979, 34–45). An invaluable research tool for students of the German era is the English language translation of the administration's annual reports (Sack and Clark 1979).

The best introduction to Australia's

occupation of German New Guinea in 1914 and the subsequent period under a League of Nations mandate is chapter 5 of Griffin, Nelson, and Firth (1979, 46–58). Reed (1942) offers a critical discussion of the Australian administration between the wars. More detailed sources include Mair (1970), and Radi (1971), while Rowley (1958) deals specifically with the military period. Oliver (1991, 41–68) provides the only extended discussion of Bougainville's particular experience during this period.

Once again, Griffin, Nelson, and Firth (1979, 70–101) provide the best introduction to the impact of World War II on Papua New Guinea, while Oliver (1991, 69–77) is the best single source on developments in Bougainville. Other sources with relevance for Bougainville's wartime experience are Long (1963) and Miller (1959).

The most useful general account of developments in Papua New Guinea in the postwar colonial era is Ian Downs' *The Australian Trusteeship* (1980). More than five hundred pages long and well documented, it covers in some detail the establishment of the copper mine in Bougainville, and the secessionist challenge there in the 1970s. Since this is an "official" history, it is not surprising that the book is sympathetic toward Australian efforts. A *Time for Building*, by the architect of much of this effort, ex-Minister for Territories Paul Hasluck (1976), is another valuable source of official views and perceptions during the period from 1951 to 1963.

A more critical account of Australian efforts is provided by Griffin, Nelson, and Firth (1979, 102–177). Also worth consulting, but of mixed

quality, are some books and edited collections of the 1960s and early 1970s that discuss development problems and prospects. These include Fisk (1966), J. Ryan (1969), Hastings (1969), Clunies Ross and Langmore (1973), Wai-gani Seminar (1969), and Ward (1970). Rowley's *New Guinea Villager* (1965) is the most interesting early discussion of what "development" might mean for Papua New Guineans. Oliver describes developments in Bougainville before the establishment of the mine in chapter 7 of *Black Islanders* (1991, 92–117).

Papua New Guinea's transition to independence in 1975 is discussed by Griffin, Nelson, and Firth (1979, 178–271) and Downs (1980, 486–563). Books aimed at more popular audiences by Hank Nelson (1974) and journalist Don Woolford (1976) give a good sense of the issues of the day. Finally, the country's first prime minister, Michael Somare, provides some additional insights in his 1975 autobiography, *Sana*. All of these books discuss the separatist problems that beset Papua New Guinea during this period. For political developments in Bougainville in the early 1970s, see Anis et al (1976).

Two more theoretically oriented studies of Papua New Guinea's political economy should be mentioned. In *Development and Dependency*, Azeem Amarshi, Kenneth Good, and Rex Mortimer (1979) discuss the development of peripheral capitalism, changing global influences, class structure, and political forms of dependency. The book remains influential, despite the problems it causes for those predisposed toward its theoretical assumptions (eg, Turner 1980) and for those who disagree with the basic approach

(eg, Garnaut 1980). Considerably more sophisticated theoretically, but intimidating for newcomers to neo-Marxist scholarship, is Peter Fitzpatrick's *Law and State in Papua New Guinea* (1980).

Two recently published books address Papua New Guinea's postindependence experience. In *Papua New Guinea: The Challenge of Independence*, Mark Turner (1990), who taught at the Administrative College in Port Moresby, offers an introductory overview "written with both the general reader and the student in mind." He includes sections on history and geography, economic development, inequality and social welfare, politics and administration, foreign policy, and law and order. Less well organized and documented, but much more lively in style, is Sean Dorney's *Papua New Guinea: People, Politics and History Since 1975* (1990). A journalist in Papua New Guinea since 1974, Dorney offers a personalized account of recent events that is rich in insight. It is essential reading for students of contemporary Papua New Guinea. Both books contain numerous references to Bougainville, and Dorney devotes a separate chapter to the current crisis.

The best survey of Papua New Guinea's postindependence economic problems is Goodman, Lepani, and Morawetz (1985), while the increasingly influential World Bank (1988) offers a somewhat different assessment. Some interesting views on ten years of development efforts were expressed at the 1982 Waigani Seminar, and the resultant collection of papers is a useful resource (King, Lee, and Warakai 1985). There is no book-length study of postindependence politics in Papua New Guinea, although

some institutional aspects are described by William Standish (1984).

A useful (but expensive) research tool for students of contemporary affairs is *The Papua New Guinea Handbook* (Callick et al 1990). This provides general background information about the country, and its discussions of social, political, and economic issues are updated periodically. The regional newsmagazines, *Pacific Islands Monthly* and *Islands Business Pacific*, as well as newsletters such as *Pacific Report*, cover major news stories from Papua New Guinea. The weekly *Times of Papua New Guinea* provides in-depth coverage of current issues in the country, while the daily *Post-Courier* offers more comprehensive reporting. Convenient for those more concerned with recent history than with news are the annual political reviews published in the *Australian Journal of Politics and History* (since the 1960s), in the fall issue (number 2) of *The Contemporary Pacific* (since 1989), and in the February issue of *Asian Survey*. As well as reviewing Papua New Guinea (since 1989), the annual supplement to the *Journal of Pacific History* records new Pacific-related theses and dissertations, and reports relevant additions to the periodical literature. Of increasing importance for researchers are the various database searching facilities now available in major libraries.

MINING, CHANGE, AND DEVELOPMENT IN BOUGAINVILLE

The giant opencast copper and gold mine at Panguna has been the most important force for change in Bougainville in recent decades. Raymond

Mikesell (1975) offers a concise history of its establishment and a brief account of the 1974 renegotiation of the original mining agreement. The *Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea* includes a useful illustrated description of the project (P. Ryan 1972, 92–102).

Another good source is Downs (1980), which outlines the economic circumstances that made the enterprise attractive to the Australian administration (299–302) and examines its stormy history from 1966 to 1970 (340–362).

The mine was established in the context of an economic development strategy heavily influenced by the World Bank report of 1964 (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1965). The terms of the 1967 mining agreement (Papua New Guinea 1967, 1974) were generous to the company (Robinson 1969), and the agreement was renegotiated shortly after self-government (Momis 1975). The best account of the renegotiation is provided by Ross Garnaut (1981), a key member of the government's negotiating team. A company attempt to enlist the support of the Australian government is revealed in a letter eventually-made public (Duncan and Carnegie 1981). The renegotiation resulted in a radical change in the tax system based on principles developed by Garnaut and Clunies Ross (1975), which have informed Papua New Guinea's mining policy ever since (O'Faircheallaigh 1984; Daniel 1985; Tilton, Millet, and Ward 1986). The new fiscal terms are analyzed by Michael Faber (1974), while Abdul Paliwala (1974) examines some legal aspects of the renegotiation. The company's annual reports (Bougainville Copper Limited) detail production and fiscal performance.

Mining provoked significant local resistance from the beginning. Connell (1989, 1–3) has documented evidence of early resistance from patrol reports, and company geologist Ken Phillips (1977) provides a telling description of the reaction to exploration activities from 1964 to 1966. The best source on the issue of land compensation is Bedford and Mamak (1977), but see also Dove, Miriung, and Togolo (1974), and Kokare (1972). For an overview of the controversial resumption of Rorovana land for company facilities, and of Arawa plantation for a townsite, see Woolford (1976, 28–42), and a recent article by a witness to these events, Nigel Cooper (1991). Details from official sources are provided by Downs (1980, 340–362), while Leo Hannett (1969b) offers a pungent local point of view. The best summary of local reaction is Momis and Ogan (1971), but see also Wiley (1992). Frank Espie (1973) presents a company view.

The economic impacts of the Bougainville mine were discussed by Malcolm Treadgold (1971), and in a report by W. D. Scott and Company (1973), while a perceptive government official outlined some potential future problems (Zorn 1973, 1976). Actual impacts were reviewed by O'Faircheallaigh (1982, 1984a, 1984b), and later by Daniel (1985) and Tilton, Millet, and Ward (1986). Treadgold (1978) provides an extended discussion of the impact of mining on Bougainville's economy. An early assessment of environmental impacts is Brown (1974), but by far the most detailed review was conducted in 1988 shortly before the landowner protest turned violent (Applied Geology Associates 1989; for a short summary by one of the mem-

bers of the team see Connell 1991, 67–69). Richard West's (1972) general condemnation of the global activities of Bougainville Copper Limited's parent company, Rio Tinto-Zinc, is worth mentioning here, if only because it seems to have inspired the T-shirt slogan "Valley of Tears" sported by activists on Bougainville during the current crisis.

By now readers will have gathered that Professor Douglas Oliver has cast a long shadow over the research agenda in Bougainville for more than five decades. Since his initial fieldwork in 1938–1939, he has supervised the work of numerous doctoral students and been employed periodically as an adviser by the mining company. In association with a committee of scholars at Australian National University's Development Studies Centre, Oliver coordinated an extensive research effort in Bougainville in the 1970s. Funded largely by Bougainville Copper Limited, its objectives were first, to record "for posterity . . . the nature of the island's several indigenous cultures" before they were transformed, and second, to investigate the effects of change on the economic welfare of Bougainvillians (Oliver 1973, 215–216).

This project produced much of the available information about social change in Bougainville. Geographer John Connell (1978, but see also 1977a, 1977b, 1985, 1988) produced an outstanding follow-up study to Oliver's own work in Siwai that focused on agricultural change. Social psychologist Tushar Moulik (1975, 1977) investigated the influence of motivational factors on the ability of Bougainvillians to adapt to modern forms of economic activity. Jared Keil's (1975) excel-

lent doctoral thesis focused on social structure and leadership in Buin, while Robert Shoffner (1976) investigated the economic and cultural ecology of Teop, and Michael Hamnett (1977) discussed changing settlement patterns in parts of central Bougainville. The project also brought geographer Richard Bedford and sociologist Alexander Mamak to Bougainville. Together (Bedford and Mamak 1975, 1976, 1977; Mamak and Bedford 1974a, 1974b, 1977) and separately (Bedford 1974), they produced numerous important publications on social and political issues. Associated studies included those by Malcolm Treadgold (1971, 1978), and Marion Ward (1975).

Also important, but not part of Oliver's program, were studies conducted by anthropologists Eugene Ogan, Donald Mitchell, and Jill Nash. Nash's (1974) initial study was more concerned with traditional ethnography, but in later articles she examined changing Nagovisi gender relations (Nash 1981, 1984). Mitchell (1976) investigated the impact of cash cropping on Nagovisi land tenure systems and warned of future problems. Ogan, Nash, and Mitchell (1976) foreshadowed population pressures among the Nasioi and Nagovisi. Ogan (1972, but see also 1971b, 1974) focused on business ventures and cargoism among the Nasioi, while Maxwell Rimoldi (1972) studied Bougainville's best-known "cargo cult," the Hahalis Welfare Society in Buka (see also Hagai 1966, and Worsley 1957 for a general discussion of such cults). Meanwhile, Hugh Laracy (1976) studied the history of Catholic missions in the Solomon Islands, including Bougainville. Finally, Bougainvillean Ephraim Makis

(1975) conducted research on the growth of local business under the influence of the mining company.

In 1978, Oliver (1981) summarized the findings of some of these studies in a report to then premier of the North Solomons Province, Dr Alexis Sarei. He emphasized the growing dependence of Bougainvilleans on money, and commented that "future money deprivation would doubtless be, for many if not most Bougainvillians, a painfully traumatic experience indeed" (Oliver 1981, v). He could not know that this prediction would be put to the test after the mine was forced to close in May 1989 and especially after the national government imposed its blockade on the island in mid-1990.

In 1982 a consortium of British consulting firms completed a comprehensive development study for the North Solomons Provincial Government (Economic Consultants Limited 1982). The report examined population trends and provincial government finances, and assessed performance in the agricultural, forestry, fishing, and industrial sectors of the economy. It also reviewed the situation with regard to health, education, transport, utilities, housing, and squatter settlements. Its authors detailed the economic and social consequences of the cessation of mining in the province and made it quite clear that they regarded further minerals exploration a matter of urgency.

SECESSIONIST POLITICS IN BOUGAINVILLE TO 1976

The potential fragmentation of Papua New Guinea along regional lines was a constant concern during the transition

to independence (eg, see Clunies Ross 1973; Khan 1974; Hastings 1976*b*; Premdas 1977*b*; Sundhaussen 1977; May 1982). The strongest movement for secession developed in Bougainville, fueled by the adverse reaction to mining from the mid-1960s. The foremost analyst of Bougainvillean nationalism is historian James Griffin, who has published numerous articles on the subject since the early 1970s (eg, 1972, 1973*b*, 1973*d*, 1975*a*, 1975*b*). Mamak and Bedford (1974*a*) is another good general source, while Crocombe (1968), and Fingleton (1970), a resident Australian priest, are also worth consulting. Also significant are the published statements of Leo Hannett, the most important secessionist leader of the 1970s (1969*a*, 1975).

The history and aims of the influential Kieta-based political organization Napidakoe Navitu are analyzed by Barry Middlemiss (1970), the organization's first secretary, Anis et al (1976), and Griffin (1982). Bougainville's historical and cultural connections to the rest of the Solomons, as well as the possibility of a political reunion, were discussed by Hastings (1976*a*) and Griffin (1973*c*), among others. The economics of such a union were explored by Treadgold (1978) in an interesting appendix to his general study of Bougainville's economy.

Griffin, Nelson, and Firth (1979, 209-217) and Premdas (1977*b*) provide useful descriptions of the events leading up to Bougainville's first unilateral declaration of independence on 1 September 1975. The secessionist bid is described in fairly disparaging terms by Downs (1980, 555-557) and Oliver (1991), no doubt reflecting the attitude

of many observers at the time. The wait-and-see tactics employed by Prime Minister Somare to deal with the crisis are foreshadowed in his autobiography (1975), and Griffin, Nelson, and Firth (1979, 236–239) outline the terms of the eventual settlement with secessionist leaders in August 1976. The so-called Bougainville Agreement authorized the establishment of the North Solomons Provincial Government with significant decentralized powers. The role of this earlier Bougainville crisis in the establishment of Papua New Guinea's extensive system of provincial government is discussed by Diana Conyers (1975, 1976) and John Ballard (1981).

THE CURRENT CRISIS

The crisis that erupted at the Panguna mine in late 1988 caught most people, including academics, by surprise. Few social scientists had worked in the province since the extensive efforts of the 1970s, although Wesley-Smith (1988) investigated some local impacts of the mine in 1984, and Griffin with Kawona (1989) traced political developments there to 1987.

Two research efforts in 1988 yielded important information for subsequent analyses. The first was a study of landowner-company relations conducted by a team of University of Papua New Guinea students supervised by Colin Filer (1990, 83n12). The results are summarized by Okole (1990). The second research effort was initiated by the Department of Minerals and Energy in response to landowner concerns, and conducted by a firm of consultants (Applied Geology Associates 1989). The only social scientist on the team was John Connell, whose recent

published and unpublished papers trace the development of the "new" Panguna Landowners Association and discuss the expressed grievances of its leaders (Connell 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1991). Informed by Connell's long association with Bougainville, these papers are essential reading for students of the current crisis.

An important resource for researchers will be Matthew Spriggs' *The Bougainville Papers: Primary Source Documents on the Bougainville Crisis*, which is still in preparation but should be published in late 1992 or 1993.

An unexpected stimulus to research emerged in 1989 as a result of a legal dispute between the mining company and its insurers over the nature of the conflict that had forced the mine to close. Experts were commissioned by both parties to address the question of whether or not the situation in Bougainville represented a state of insurrection, rebellion, civil war, or usurped power. Some of the resultant reports, or derivations from them, began to circulate in late 1989, and a number were subsequently published.

Seminars at the Australian National University in March and April 1990, and May 1991, provided impetus for the two edited collections on the crisis that have emerged so far (Polomka 1990; May and Spriggs 1990—see reviews elsewhere in this issue), and a third that is in press (Spriggs and Denoon 1992). The Polomka book contains a series of short pieces by various interested parties and reproduces several relevant documents. The May and Spriggs volume is more substantive and includes two scholarly papers that have attracted considerable attention.

Colin Filer (1990) proposes that the Bougainville crisis originated in a process of local social disintegration precipitated by mining. He argues that this process is occurring in the vicinity of large-scale mine sites elsewhere in Papua New Guinea and that it is only a matter of time before these other social "time bombs" explode. This hypothesis, refined and expanded in a second paper (Filer 1992), has served to structure the subsequent debate concerning the causes of the crisis. True to style, James Griffin (1990a) has confronted the argument head-on, taking strong exception to Filer's claim that Bougainville is no different from any other part of Papua New Guinea. In a paper entitled "Bougainville Is a Special Case," Griffin draws on his earlier work to argue that the central factor in the crisis is ethnonationalism based on perceived ethnic distinctiveness.

This sort of argument is favored by secessionist leaders, who emphasize their cultural differences from people in other parts of Papua New Guinea, as well as a history of neglect and exploitation by outsiders (eg, see Havini 1990a, 1990b; International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs 1992; Ona 1990). Griffin is no secessionist, however, and has written numerous newspaper articles attacking Bougainvillean leaders for ignoring the welfare of their own people (eg, Griffin 1989a, 1990c, 1990d, 1990e). These broadsides have served the useful purpose of provoking public responses from some targeted individuals whose views might otherwise remain unstated (eg, Momis 1990a, 1990b; Roberts 1990; Singkai 1990).

Two other book-length studies deal-

ing with the crisis have been published so far. Oliver's *Black Islanders* (1991) discussed at length earlier in this essay, includes a blow-by-blow description of events from 1988 to early 1991, but offers no coherent explanatory framework. On the other hand, retired managing director of Bougainville Copper Limited, Paul Quodling (1991, 1992), has no doubt that the distribution of financial benefits was the key issue. He lays much of the blame for the events of 1988 on Father John Momis' 1987 "Bougainville initiative," which he argues raised the expectations of landowners. Previous claims of this nature have been vehemently denied by Momis (1989, 1990a, 1990b). For the perspectives of other company officials see Carruthers (1990, 1992) and Griffin (1990b).

Wesley-Smith and Ogan argue elsewhere in this issue that the debate about the origins of the crisis should be placed in a larger theoretical context, and offer a suitable comparative framework. A somewhat different conceptual approach informs the work of David Hyndman (1987, 1991), while Peter Larmour (1992) discusses a variety of theoretical options.

General discussions of the crisis and its implications have been offered by Dora Alves (1990) and Hugh Laracy (1991). Among the best in this genre are Ron May (1990b), and Bill Standish (1989, 1990), both of whom have had considerable research experience in Papua New Guinea.

Elsewhere in this issue, Spriggs explains the significance of prehistory for the crisis, and pertinent Bougainvillean and Nasioi cultural characteristics are surveyed by Ogan (1991; see also

1990). Ogan's article is essential reading, and includes an interesting discussion of the traditional role of chiefs, who have recently assumed a certain significance.

Legal aspects are analyzed by University of Papua New Guinea law lecturer Rafiqul Islam (1990, 1991), while Ethan Weisman (1990, 1992), Andrew Elek (1991, 1992), and Herb Thompson (1991) discuss some economic implications. The most useful discussion of the political implications of the crisis is Saffu (elsewhere in this issue), but see also May (1990a). The role of the media in the crisis is analyzed by former editor of the *Arawa Bulletin* Suzanna Layton elsewhere in this issue. The role of the churches has yet to be examined rigorously, but Griffin (eg, 1990e) has expressed his views in no uncertain terms. The Priests of the Bougainville Diocese (1989), Father Mark Roberts (1990), and Bishop Gregory Singkai (1990), have all made statements regarding their involvement.

The Bougainville crisis has raised some questions about mining in Papua New Guinea generally. For example, there is an ongoing debate about landowners' rights over minerals (Donigi 1988; Posman 1988; Grynberg 1988; na Genim 1991). Mining specialists Richard Jackson (1989) and Sam Pintz (1989) discuss some new policy options and approaches. The critical development issues facing Papua New Guinea as it heads toward a minerals boom are presented in an important recent publication by David Parsons and David Vincent (1991).

Finally, the crisis has put considerable strain on Papua New Guinea's rela-

tions with Australia (R. Smith 1990; Neuhaus 1990; Anderson 1990; Commonwealth of Australia 1991; Eccleston 1990; Coster 1990; Thawley 1992), the military aspects of which have always been problematic (eg, see H. Smith 1974; Babbage 1987). The important impact on relations with the Solomon Islands is not as well documented, but see the account of Martina Ului elsewhere in this issue. The impact of the crisis on women is discussed by Pauline Onsa (1992), and on health by Lissa Evans (1992).

The course of the crisis since 1988 can be traced in annual reviews by Michael Oliver (1989) Yaw Saffu (1990, 1991), Griffin (1989b, 1990f), Wesley-Smith (1989, 1990b, 1991a, 1991b, 1992a, 1992b), and in annual and quarterly reports by the Economist Intelligence Unit. Additional sources will be identified in a brief chronological survey of recent events.

Griffin with Kawona (1989) is the best source for political developments in Bougainville during the 1980s, while former provincial premier Leo Hannett (1989) and John Momis (1989, 1990a, 1990b) defend their mining-related actions during this period. Quodling (1991) and Wesley-Smith (1990a, 1992) offer explanations for the failure to eventuate of the reviews of the Bougainville Copper Agreement scheduled for 1981 and 1988.

As mentioned earlier, Okole (1990), Applied Geology Associates (1989), and Connell (1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1991) are the best sources on the development of the militant landowner movement in 1988. Oliver (1991) and May (1990b), among others, describe the campaign of sabotage that began in

late 1988, and the introduction of riot police shortly after. Nash and Ogan (1990) discuss Bougainvilleans' attitudes toward outsiders, providing useful background to the ethnic riots that erupted in early 1989. These riots led to the introduction of the army, and the resulting general deterioration of the situation is described by Burton (1990) and Spriggs (1990*b*, 1990*c*). The emergence of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army is discussed by Mike Forster elsewhere in this issue.

The provincial government's report on possible solutions to the crisis (North Solomons Provincial Government 1989) was released in May 1989, and September saw the demise of the Namaliu government's "peace package" initiative (*Times of Papua New Guinea*, 21 Sept 1989). The events leading to the ceasefire of March 1990 are described by one of its architects, Graeme Kemelfield (1990, see also 1992), and by Oswin Avery (1990). The subsequent withdrawal of all the security forces and the takeover of the province by the Bougainville Revolutionary Army are covered in some detail by journalists Rowan Callick (1990*a*) and Sean Dorney (1990, 319-328).

The Republic of Bougainville's declaration of independence in May 1990 is described by May and Spriggs (1990, 113-116), while Callick (1990*b*) discusses the negotiations leading to the Endeavour Accords of August 1990 (Somare and Kabui 1990). The September reinvasion of Buka by the Papua New Guinea Defence Force is covered by Wesley-Smith (1991*b*), as is the subsequent agreement between Buka leaders and the national government

(Momis et al 1990). Accusations of human rights violations are documented in an extensive report by the London-based human rights group, Amnesty International, released in November 1990.

The circumstances surrounding the signing of the Honiara Declaration (Somare and Kabui 1991) in January 1991 are discussed by Rowan Callick (1991). Other useful journalistic accounts of life on Bougainville during the blockade include Sasako (1991*a*, 1991*b*), Maladina (1991), and Beatson (1991). A documentary broadcast on Australian television in June (Snow 1991) included an admission by the defense force commander that Australian-donated helicopters were used as gunships and to dump the bodies of rebel suspects at sea. In August, Bougainville's interim government presented its case against the Papua New Guinea government to the international community (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs 1992), and Papua New Guinea responded (Lepani 1992).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

An enormous amount has been written about Bougainville, and especially about the impacts of the mine. Yet the tragedy happened anyway. It may well be that the policymakers, for political or economic reasons, ignored whatever warning signs there were in the literature. The more sobering possibility, however, is that the social scientists failed to properly understand the destructive processes at work. Hopefully, the rich literature on Bougainville will soon be thoroughly reexamined in search of adequate explanations, so

that future catastrophes can be avoided.

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Note

1 The term Bougainville is used here to include adjoining Buka Island.

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